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THE Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S NATIONAL POLITICAL WEEKLY

10 Cents a Copy **October 12, 1918**

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168

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CONTINUING the Woman's Journal, founded 1870 by Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell, as a weekly newspaper devoted to winning equal rights and especially to winning equal suffrage for women, and published weekly in Boston, Massachusetts, from 1870 to 1917. Continuing also the Woman Voter, and the National Suffrage News. In succeeding the National Suffrage News, The Woman Citizen became the official organ of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and as such tries to maintain intimate contact between the Association and its two million members throughout the United States.

THE WOMAN CITIZEN

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VOL. III OCTOBER 12, 1918 No. 20

PUBLISHED by the Woman Citizen Corporation, in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

The directors of the Corporation are Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, and Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore.

Alice Stone Blackwell is a special contributing editor.

Rose Young is the editor-in-chief.

Mary Ogden White, Mary Sumner Boyd, and Rose Lawless Geyer are associate editors.

Our Circulation Story

IF anything has been needed to stir up the fighting blood of the suffrage hosts, the Senate supplied it on October 1, when it refused to stand by the President in his fight for democracy. Instead of being discouraged by the temporary setback, suffragists are more determined than ever to keep up the fight for the attainment of the ideals for which America is fighting in France and for which President Wilson fights so valiantly at home. The coming months will see a greater concentration of suffrage energy than ever before.

This spirit is reflected in the letters that have poured into suffrage headquarters since the action of the Senate. "On with the fight," writes Mrs. H. W. Maier, of New Britain, Connecticut.

The campaign which the *Woman Citizen* has conducted on behalf of the Amendment will be carried on with even greater intensity during the coming weeks. For this reason the Woman's National Political Weekly will be an even greater necessity to the large army of women who are carrying on for democracy.

"There is a strong demand for the *Woman Citizen* and its influence is ever on the increase," writes Lenora C. Scott from Kittery Point, Maine.

From Mrs. Roselle C. Cooley, of Jacksonville, Florida, we receive similar praise. She tells us the pages of the *Citizen* are informing to women and anticipates that soon we will all be voters. And we will, if every suffragist in the country sees to it that her Senators know how universal is this demand for equal suffrage.

"Every one likes the *Woman Citizen* that has an opportunity to get acquainted with it," is the way Mrs. Henry C. Glasner of Nashville, Tennessee, sums up our good points. Let us all conspire to see that scores and hundreds have an opportunity to get acquainted with our own official organ. Every reader is an active suffrage worker. So on with a widespread campaign of publicity for the political weekly which is fighting a valiant fight on the side of true democracy.

"I shall never desert the *Woman Citizen*. Congratulations on its value," is the message we receive from Anna B. Stirling, Philadelphia, Pa.

Iowa is elated over attaining first place in the circulation contest, and intends to keep it. "I watch the contest each week and rejoice to see Iowa in the lead," writes Mrs. Fred A. Patterson, of Sioux City, as she encloses a half dozen new subscriptions.

We tell no secrets, but we do not hesitate to say that developments of surprising interest are brewing.

ROSE LAWLESS GEYER,
National Circulation Chairman.

STATE CIRCULATION CHAIRMEN

Alabama: Miss Minnie Woodall, Pinson
Arkansas: Miss Billie Pitney, Little Rock
Conn.: Mrs. Bertha T. Voorhorst, Hartford
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Wisconsin: Mrs. Charles Mott, Milwaukee.

Circulation Contest

1. A pledge will constitute an entry.
2. No entries will be accepted after December 1, 1918.
3. Contest closes January 1, 1919.
4. In case of a tie for any one premium, the prize will be awarded to each qualifying contestant.
5. Only actual paid subscriptions will be counted in the awarding of premiums.

First Cash Premium

FIFTY DOLLARS

To the State Association that sends in the highest number over 200 (paid new subscribers). The net price per subscription to the State Association is .70, the .30 to go into the state, county or local treasury, as may be decided by arrangement between the state and its branches.

Second Cash Premium

TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the County Association that sends in the highest numbers over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the State Association, and would help to swell the state's total.

Third Cash Premium

TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the Local Club that sends in the highest number over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the County Association into the State Association, and thence to the *Woman Citizen*.

Fourth Cash Premium

TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the co-operating Subscriber who sends in the highest number over 50. This would be independent of state, county and club circulation activities, would apply to states that do not take up the circulation work in an official way, and would come directly to the *Woman Citizen*. The net price per subscription is $1.00. No discount.

Relative Position of State Leagues in the *Woman Citizen's* Circulation Contest:

September 28th	*October 5th*
1. Iowa	1 Iowa
2. South Dakota	2 South Dakota
3. Georgia	3 Georgia
4. Indiana	4 Indiana
5. Michigan	5 Michigan
6. Minnesota	6 Minnesota
7. New Jersey	7 New Jersey
8. Wisconsin	8 Wisconsin
9. Massachusetts	9 Massachusetts
10. New York	10 New York
11. Ohio	11 Ohio
12. Virginia	12 Virginia
13. New Hampshire	13 New Hampshire
14. Missouri	14 Missouri
15. Alabama	15 Alabama
16. Texas	16 Texas
17. Maryland	17 Maryland
18. Pennsylvania	18 Pennsylvania
19. Maine	19 Maine
20. Louisiana	20 Louisiana
21. West Virginia	21 West Virgina
22. Connecticut	22 Connecticut
23. South Carolina	23 Tennessee
24. Tennessee, Kentucky	24 Kentucky
25. Arkansas	25 Arkansas
26. North Dakota, Washington D. C.	26 North Dakota
27. Rhode Island	27 Washington, D. C.
28. Illinois	28 Rhode Island
29. Nebraska, Oklahoma	29 Nebraska-Oklahoma
30. Washington, Mississippi	30 Washington-Mississippi
31. Kansas, North Carolina	31 Illinois-Kansas
32. Vermont	32 North Carolina
	33 Vermont

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WOMAN CITIZEN'S

SPECIAL BOOK NUMBER

NOVEMBER 2

This number invites you to a full banquet of good reading

SUFFRAGE WAR MEASURE, NO. 5

Copies of President Wilson's speech before the Senate, as published in the WOMAN CITIZEN of October 5, may be had in leaflet form, five cents each, from the

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING CO.

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The National American Woman Suffrage Association

is now maintaining three hospital units in France

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Urgent Needs of Hospitals

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Send All Funds for the Hospitals to the Treasurer,

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171 Madison Avenue, New York City

The Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

A Journal of Democracy

October 12, 1918

"We shall fight for things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

The Connection

AMERICA, as may have been noticed, is at war.

President Wilson, as is very generally conceded, is the head of the American fighting forces.

When the American people elected him President, they did so with the full realization that in the emergency of war his was to be the guiding hand, his the determining voice. Their reliance was on him, their confidence was in him. The feeling out over the country, out over the world, seems to be general that he has sustained that reliance and justified that confidence.

All the more then is the country amazed and aghast that 34 men in the Senate of the United States should have set their judgment against his on that historic October first which fell on Tuesday of last week. All the more is the country justified in feeling that he stands betrayed, and it with him, when these men, against an almost two-to-one majority of their own colleagues, refuse to support him in a measure which he tells them plainly "is vital to the winning of the war and to the energies alike of preparation and of battle."

The only explanation that is offered in their behalf is that they disagree with him, they don't see the connection between the granting of woman suffrage and the winning of war. "It has nothing to do with winning the war," say they. "How can he ever come to Congress again with a plea for a war measure, not knowing a war measure when he sees it?"

One or two editors, friendly though they are to suffrage, have voiced the same pained expostulation. Woman suffrage is right, of course, say they, and it is coming, but it can hardly be said to touch the fortunes of the war.

ONE of the points where it touches the fortunes of war has been hammered on repeatedly by President Wilson. It is the point of morale, of building up spiritual resource, of setting the Nation wholly right internationally, as a leader of the new democratic thought of the world, a leader invulnerable to the reproach of inconsistency between her attitude at home and abroad.

It may sometimes seem to be to President Wilson's disadvantage that he believes in keeping the ideal in its place—at work. There are so many people who believe in keeping the ideal in its place—and that place a shelf. But over and over it has been demonstrated that the President's disadvantage is only apparent, not real. Over and over it has been demonstrated that President Wilson is talking the soundest sort of horse sense when he talks the ideal.

In the case of his advocacy of woman suffrage as a war measure, for instance, thinking always broadly and universally, he yet gets a connection that is missed by the mind that must have the specific instance in order to make the direct connection.

To that sort of mind woman suffrage is not a war measure because it is not troops; it is not ammunition; it is not food for the soldiers nor clothes for them; nor ships in which to carry them to France; nor yet is it money with which to buy food and clothes and ships and ammunition. But, said the President, it has its bearing on the spirit animating and the energy propelling these matters which lie at the very heart of the war.

You will pardon us, said the anti-Senators, but really we can't see it.

MEANTIME, the Fourth Liberty Loan campaign was about to open. All over the country women were at attention, ready to get out on the firing line in the bond-selling drive. Theirs to address mass meetings, theirs to man booths, theirs to work up and work out telling devices of publicity whereby the conscience of every man, woman and child in America might be roused in behalf of the Liberty Loan. The immense majority of these women are women who see the fight for suffrage as an integral part of the world fight for democracy, women to whom the defeat of one means the betrayal of the other. To these women, waiting taut and eager and aspirant, flashed the word that a reactionary minority in the United States Senate was standing out against suffrage, against the right of self-government, against the thing we are fighting for in Europe to-day.

Take the case of one woman as typical of all. She is a mainstay of the Women's Liberty Loan Committee. Her zeal, her fire, her conviction can be thrown out over a mass meeting so compellingly that few there be who hear her and leave without being pledged to at least one Liberty Bond. But zeal and fire and conviction were smitten dead by the attitude of the Senate obstructionists.

"Do you know what it takes," she demanded, desperately, "to raise the vast sums I have to raise at mass meetings? Do you know that you have to hurl yourself out at the people below

you with super vitality? Do you know that you have to read your own fervor into them? It takes the very heart and soul of you. And my heart and soul are crushed. My spirit is dead. My voice will be lifeless. I shall try my hardest, but my quota will be short."

Not so remote a connection now, take notice, between that magic of the spirit which the President recognizes and those tasks that lie at the very heart of the war! Even a reactionary Senator can get the connection between the war and the money with which to run it and step by step the connection runs from the money to the public, in whose pockets the money is, to the impassioned woman whose task it is to get that public to turn its pockets wrong side out into the Government's lap.

True, impassioned men, too, are arousing that public to its duty as bond-buyers, but that women are an equal reliance in this work no one denies. Ten-fold shame, therefore, upon the Senator, Republican or Democrat, who cuts down the country's response to the Liberty Loan by crushing the spirit of the women who must help underwrite that loan!

Ten-fold shame that President Wilson is not only refused their support, but must be obliged to make good their egregious blunders. Fortunately for the world, his message of last Tuesday was not alone to them, it was to the women of the country —and with them at least it served its purpose. It put heart back where heart had failed. It re-established women in the hope of a real democracy. It made the connection.

At a time when militarism is achieving its *tour de force*, it is of inestimable world value to have the farthest-reaching voice in the world raised in behalf of the spiritual forces of the world. Not less significant than his stand for a non-imperialistic peace, a peace fair to our foes as to our friends, indeed a part of it, is President Wilson's insistence that success, even the success of arms, is a matter of the soul.

AND now suppose President Wilson asked the women suffragists of the country to do a certain thing; suppose he named the doing of it as "clearly necessary to the successful prosecution of the war;" suppose he said that if they didn't do it America would "not only be distrusted but deserve to be distrusted;" suppose he repeated with great earnestness and great solemnity that this thing which he asked them to do was "vital to the winning of the war and to the energies alike of preparation and of battle;" and not only vital to the winning of the war, mind you, but "vital to the right solution of the great problems which we must settle and settle immediately after the war is over;" suppose that he reminded them that the executive tasks of this war rested with him and that he found those tasks very heavy, and that the doing of this thing that he asked would lighten the tasks "and place in my hands instruments, spiritual instruments which I do not now possess, which I sorely need, and which I have daily to apologize for not being able to employ;" suppose he asked this thing as the Commander-in-Chief of the army.

And suppose the suffragists refused to meet his request!

Can you think of an epithet little enough and mean enough and vehement enough by which to designate them?

Because if you can, we want you to send it to this office. We have set and pied a lot of type in an effort to find adequate language with which to meet the case of the 34 willful Senators who refused President Wilson in an identical case.

How the country would ring, and how justly ring, with denunciation of suffragists who made such a refusal.

And how the country rings with denunciation of the willful 34! And how justly it rings!

In Appreciation

NOW that the barrage of prejudice and sectional feeling and state rights and moth-eaten tradition thrown down by the anti-suffrage speeches has lifted, one can see exactly where the antis got by the debate in the Senate Chamber October first. It was exactly nowhere. Thirty-four votes they had early last spring, thirty-four votes they had on the roll call, and thirty-four votes they would have forever were the Senate's personnel to continue with the dead weight of reactionaryism under which it now sags. But it won't.

Meantime the sagacity of the leaders of the National's Congressional Committee is demonstrated anew. It took courage and vision to brave the defeat that menaced the bringing of the resolution to vote, but the record of the vote was the one thing on which suffragists could begin to build anew for the later fortunes of the amendment with the 65th Congress. The committee saw its chance and took it. Because of that the federal suffrage amendment stands immeasurably advanced today over its position of a month ago. By the motion for reconsideration, Senator Jones, of New Mexico, brought the amendment back to position on the Senate calendar, and there it will be maintained in place until it can go to vote again under more favorable circumstances, circumstances that may not mature until after the November elections, and may develop any time between the elections and the end of the short session in March, 1919. In the interim the full pressure of the country is bearing upon the willful thirty-four, the pressure of a country aroused by its own humiliation.

It is hardly necessary to reassure the average suffragist, who is usually a rather more than average parliamentarian, of the significance of Senator Jones's nay vote. First voting aye, he changed his vote to no after the roll call, and then moved for reconsideration, as one who casts his vote in the negative is privileged to do. On the day following the Senate vote there was an hour's spirited debate by the same body as to whether the motion for reconsideration must carry by a mere majority—or by a two-thirds majority. Vice-President Marshall, presiding officer of the Senate, finally ruled for a majority and the suffrage resolution is again before the Senate with all its old fateful and relentless insistence.

This means that the women who have been waging the Congressional fight must go on waging. They are tired, but even when tired they can wage on.

Maud Wood Park, chairman of the committee, who has earned the deathless gratitude of suffragists the world over because of her infinite capacity for taking pains, will undoubtedly continue to head the lobby which she captains so well.

Helen H. Gardener is another leader whose service to the amendment cannot be covered by language. She it is who has acted as the National Association's White House representative for the last year and a half and to her superior diplomatic skill is due much of the confidence and privileged recognition which the National Suffrage Association enjoys in high places. At great cost to herself, and through personal trials and tribulations that would have overwhelmed all save the dauntless, she has served the cause with a spirit and verve hard to duplicate.

Certain of the Republican women will likewise live in suffrage annals for the part they have just played in the suffrage crisis at Washington. Outstanding among them are Mary Garrett Hay, Rosalie Loew Whitney, of New York, and Mrs. R. E. Edwards, of Peru, Indiana. Republicans, but suffragists a long time before Republicans, they head a long list of women, similarly Republicans, and similarly suffragists, whose work, taken in conjunction with that of Republican Senators, was of prime significance in advancing the suffrage cause.

On the Democratic side stood Mrs. Guilford Dudley, of Tennessee; Mrs. Minnie Fisher Cunningham, who got primary suffrage for Texas women, and numerous others, all doing yoemen service for suffrage through Democratic agencies.

Oh, yes, and there was Mrs. Catt, on both sides, without fear or favor!

The press, always helpful, signally distinguished itself as the date for the vote drew near. In New York virtually every paper "pushed for Pershing" and *bona fide*, down-to-the-ground democracy through the suffrage amendment. The *Sun*, the *Globe*, the *Mail*, the *Post*, the *Telegraph*, the *Tribune*, the *Call*, the *American*, the *Journal* saw their duty and made it their pleasure to respond with rousing editorials. The *World*, opposed as it is to federal intervention in state legislation, yet preached consistency to men who had abrogated state rights to vote for national prohibition. Editorial writers like Lawrence and Lyons of the Washington *Star*, and Bennett of the Washington *Post*, made telling contributions to the suffrage literature of the hour. Likewise did the Washington *Herald* and the Washington *Times* come to the fore with stirring suffrage appeals.

All over the country the same thing was happening in newspaper office after office, men and women of the press being lined up almost solidly back of the amendment.

TO certain other men, notably Joseph P. Tumulty, Secretary to the President, and Chairman Will H. Hays, of the Republican National Committee, thanks of so special a value are due that we shall commandeer space in another issue to make fitting acknowledgment

IN view of the action of Senator Baird in voting against the Federal Amendment in Washington on October 1, the New Jersey Woman Suffrage Association will give its unqualified support to Senator Hennessy in his campaign for the short term, December 1918 to March 1919. "The Federal Amendment will come up again in Congress in December," says Mrs. F. E. Feickert, state president of the Association, "and we will do our best to send a man to Washington who will stand by the slogan which Senator Baird proclaims, but does not live up to: 'Support the President; Win the War.'"

The Republicans of New Jersey unanimously adopted a plank at their convention on October 1, recommending that the Republicans should vote to ratify the Federal Suffrage Amendment when this is presented to the New Jersey Legislature for adoption. The vote on the suffrage plank in the Democratic convention, which was held the same day, was a tie, 27 to 27, so that the plank was omitted from the platform. Expressing delight that the New Jersey Republicans stood unanimously for woman suffrage, their action following immediately after the President's plea for the enfranchisement of the women of the country, the New Jersey president says: "Their action shows that the New Jersey Republicans mean what they say when their spokesman, Governor Edge, declares that 'politics is adjourned.'

"In the Democratic convention we could have had no finer champion than Charles O'Connor Hennessy, of Bergen County, candidate for the short term in the Senate, against David Baird, of Camden. Mr. Hennessy, in defiance of Mr. Nugent, pleaded with the convention to give the President the support of his own party in his own state.

"Every Democratic State Representative at the convention voted against the suffrage plank and it was defeated through the personal efforts of James R. Nugent. We have, therefore, decided to actively support the twelve Republican Legislative candidates in Essex County and will work for them.

"In counties where all candidates have pledged their support to the Federal Amendment we will take no active part in the fall campaign."

That women do remember will be demonstrated by New York women in telling manner when Senator James Wadsworth comes up for re-election in 1920. Thoroughly indignant at the adverse vote of Senator Wadsworth after his state, by popular vote, had spoken for suffrage, and the Legislature and state and county political units had requested him to vote in the affirmative, the women will leave no stone unturned to bring about his defeat should he have political aspirations in 1920, when his present term of office ends.

"More than any single individual in the Senate, Senator Wadsworth must bear the blame for our defeat," said Miss Mary Garrett Hay, chairman of the Woman Suffrage Party of New York City and member of the executive committee of the New York State Republican Committee. "Of course, the Southern Democrats as a party group were responsible, but, after all, they were bearing out the traditions of their party and the wishes of a more or less large percentage of the voters of their states. Senator Wadsworth, however, was the one man in the Senate who disobeyed the definite instructions of his state legislature and the platform of his party. Had the Republicans been able to count Senator Wadsworth's vote, the Democrats would undoubtedly have found the other one vote necessary to pass the amendment. So Senator Wadsworth is responsible, and we New York suffragists will remember that in 1920, when he comes up for re-election."

Massachusetts suffragists report that they are lining up their forces for an offensive against Senator Weeks, who failed to support the Federal Amendment, and who comes up for re-election in November. Senator Lodge, minority leader and most aggressive of anti-suffragists, will not be up for reelection, so the suffrage forces will train their batteries on Senator Weeks only at this time.

OVER a half million fliers were distributed in New York City to urge the women to get out and register for the November elections, October 7 being registration week. Every effort and every medium possible was used to roll up a record registration of women. Public meetings were held in assembly districts, short talks were given, and much personal work done.

"We must make women feel that registration is a patriotic duty," said Miss Mary Garrett Hay, chairman of the Woman Suffrage Party of New York City. "Women must take the place of the men who are at the front, not only in the ranks of industry, but in politics also. Let women know that to put candidates into office who will support the policies of the government and to keep out of positions of responsibility the indifferent and the disloyal will help win the war."

One effective means employed by the women was the moving picture houses. In 1600 of these houses of amusement over the state slides were thrown on the screens, giving all necessary data in regard to registration of women.

CELEBRATE COLUMBUS DAY

Help on a new and better world by buying

LIBERTY BONDS

Where State Campaigns Wax Warm

GOVERNOR SLEEPER, in an address at the Michigan Republican Convention paid a fine tribute to Michigan women:

"If anything were lacking to convince any of us that the women of this state have a right to the ballot, surely the magnificent war work that they have done in the past 18 months, and their willing sacrifices in the cause of freedom, have supplied the lack.

"The splendid, self-sacrificing labors of all our women, the devotion of mothers who have given up their sons, of young wives who have given up their husbands, are beyond praise. Can we now do less than confer upon them the privileges and responsibilities of full citizenship?"

THE Michigan Republican State Convention, September 26th, 1918, embodied in its platform the following resolution:

"We believe the time has come when Michigan should extend the right of suffrage to women on equal terms with men, and we endorse the Constitutional Amendment looking toward that end, to be voted upon at the November election, and call upon the voters of the state to adopt it by emphatic majority."

"We further favor the immediate submission to the several states of the proposed amendment to the Federal Constitution granting suffrage to women, and we call upon the Legislature of Michigan to ratify such amendment when so submitted.

AMID cheers and applause the following resolution was adopted at the Democratic Convention in Detroit, Michigan, Wednesday, September 25th:

"In accordance with the pledge of the National Democratic platform adopted at St. Louis in June, 1916, we commend to the voters of Michigan the granting of suffrage to women on the same terms as men by this state at the approaching November election. Confident of the rectitude of our purposes and the patriotism of our program of political action, we call upon all right-thinking men of Michigan to rally to the support of the Democratic ticket at this election."

A CAMPAIGN song, written by Lew Fullerton, of the Jessie Bonstelle Company, was sung by him at the suffrage rally in Wayne County, Michigan:

"A soldier wrote his mother, 'I'm glad I'm over here,
We're getting the Hun now one by one,
The end will soon be near.
The only thing we think of which really gets our goat,
At home the Hun, the Son-of-a-gun,
Still has the right to vote.

Chorus—

"Keep your heads up, Yankee Boys,
Keep your heads up, Yankee Boys,
Your dear ones at home will look out for you,
They're watching, they're watching,
For the sisters and the mothers
Will be voting for sons and brothers.
We'll make the kaiser understand
That he can't fool with Yankee land,
So, keep your heads up, Yankee Boys

ANOTHER HALLOWE'EN BUGABOO SHOT TO PIECES BY SUFFRAGE FACTS

"ALL the men who voted in 1895 on their first papers are still voting and have not thought enough of their democracy to get their second papers and they are the men who are going to say whether you and I, American women, are going to vote," said Mrs. Albert E. Peppers, who presided at the luncheon in Detroit, Michigan, of the Wayne County Equal Suffrage League. The League at this time formally launched an aggressive campaign for the full enfranchisement of Michigan women, and congressional chairmen, ward chairmen and leaders in the election districts gathered for an organization luncheon at the Hotel Statler, in September. The enthusiasm and vim with which the women took hold of plans for the intensive drive which is to continue until November 5, and the reports of the amount of preliminary work accomplished point to a successful campaign in Wayne County.

"Equal Suffrage Is a War Measure," was the keynote of the addresses which featured the cabaret luncheon, and the granting of the franchise to women will offset the votes of foreigners who are voting on their first papers, and whose votes in the absence of thousands of Michigan men overseas would dictate the government of state and city.

ORGANIZATION as the keynote of a successful campaign was emphasized in the address by Mrs. Frank J. Shuler, Corresponding Secretary of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and Chairman of Campaigns and Surveys for the national body, who was honor guest on this occasion. Definite campaign plans, acting in unison and obeying orders implicitly are three cardinal points in waging a campaign, according to Mrs. Shuler. Touching upon the old time objections to giving women the vote, Mrs. Shuler said: "Objections to giving women the vote come in waves. We used to hear that woman's place was the home. The enormous headlines, 'Women Your Country Needs You,' have, however, sent this to the dust heap."

Among the speakers were Mrs. Percy J. Farrell, president of the Michigan Woman Suffrage Association, Mrs. Augusta C. Hughston, Detroit campaign manager; Mrs. Marie E. Craigie of Buffalo, who is taking charge of the campaign work which is to be carried on through the churches of the state; Mrs. Ida Porter-Boyer, state press chairman, who reported the favorable attitude of the press toward suffrage; Mrs. Myron B. Vorce of Detroit, political chairman; Mrs. Stevens Mason, chairman of the industrial committee; Mrs. A. H. Finn, chairman of the church committee; Miss Hopkins, chairman of the teachers' committee; Mrs. Clara Hickey, parliamentary resolutions; Mrs. Harvey R. Stewart, chairman of the press committee.

THE Michigan Court has pronounced the proposed beer and wine amendment as unconstitutional. By this decision the woman suffrage amendment is the only one to come before the voters of that state on November 5.

Oklahoma Men Are for Women

DEMOCRATS of Oklahoma, in annual convention at Oklahoma City, on September 23, took a strong stand for woman suffrage. The Democratic Central Committee of Oklahoma took similar action on September 6. Some time previous the State Republican Party endorsed suffrage for women. Oklahoma is one of the suffrage campaign states which vote on the question November 5, which fact gives added significance to the support of the two major political parties of the state.

VOTES for women were very much in evidence at the Democratic convention. Some seventeen hundred votes-for-women buttons were worn by visitors and delegates, there were women delegates at the convention and the platform contained a woman suffrage plank. Mrs. Clarence L. Henley, Chairman of the State Suffrage Campaign Committee, and a committee of women pinned on the suffrage buttons and at the same time reminded the men that their votes were wanted for woman suffrage.

Previous to the state convention of Democrats, practically every county unit of the party had passed a suffrage resolution. In many instances women had been invited to address the county gatherings. Carter County invited women to participate in the election of convention delegates and Pottawatomie, Mayes and McIntosh Counties went a step further by sending women as delegates to the state convention. Pottawatomie led the list with three women delegates, all members of the County Suffrage Committee, Mrs. W. B. Slagle, suffrage county chairman, being one. The preceding week Mrs. Slagle carried off seventeen blue ribbon prizes at the county fair for excellence in needlework and cookery. Miss Aloysius Larch-Miller, county Liberty Loan chairman, and Mrs. Deason, also delegates to the convention, were awarded blue ribbons in cookery for their exhibits at the fair. Mrs. Melton of McIntosh County was named on the first committee appointed after the convention was called to order. Mrs. Jed Uriethe, the Mayes County delegate, is also an ardent suffragist and active through the newspaper which she edits.

Mrs. Frank J. Shuler, Corresponding Secretary of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, who is spending some time in Oklahoma in the interest of the suffrage campaign in progress in that state, was invited to sit on the platform during convention proceedings.

Applause interrupted the reading of the platform when the suffrage clause was reached. It read:

"We favor the adoption of the pending amendment to our state constitution giving women the right of suffrage on equal terms with men. We heartily endorse the action of the sixth Legislature in submitting to a vote of the people of this state the amendment granting suffrage to women."

The convention burst into applause when a telegram was read from Senator Owen stating that he would be unable to be present because of pressing matters at Washington, one of the most urgent being the approaching vote on the Federal Suffrage Amendment. Senator Gore, who was in the convention body, was being urged on all sides to hasten to Washington and vote for the Amendment.

To celebrate the victory for suffrage in the democratic convention the suffragists treated Oklahoma City to its first suffrage street meeting. The speakers were Mrs. Shuler, Miss Alma Sasse, Miss Larch-Miller and Miss Marjorie Shuler, Executive-secretary of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. During the course of the meeting, which aroused much enthusiasm, J. J. Cohen of California, who was one of the large crowd that had gathered, volunteered to tell of suffrage in California, claiming it was the best thing that had ever happened to that state. Promises of another street meeting to follow on the next evening were given before the crowd would disperse.

Singing Them In

OKLAHOMA men are finding it difficult to resist the logic and appeal of the suffrage argument that is being presented to them in rhythmic form by the suffrage workers in that State. On one side of a small white card which has been widely distributed at fairs and gatherings the voter reads that "It Can Be Done," then follows a list of the suffrage victories; on the reverse side he finds the following:

"A REAL TOAST

"Here's to the woman with many a care,
Who sits all day in an office chair,
And at night, when her day's work is through,
Goes home and finds more work to do;
Gets up in the morning and cooks and scrubs,
And wrestles around with laundry tubs;
Yet the usual hour finds her smiling there,
Beside her desk in the office chair.
If she's strong enough these burdens to tote,
Here's to the state where they let her vote!"

The clever little card was the inspiration of Mrs. M. A. Morrison, of Tulsa, who has made it her personal contribution to the suffrage campaign. She was one of the heroic band of women who were responsible for the first presentation of the suffrage question before the territorial Legislature. Through rain and shine, storm and dust and torrid heat, wading through veritable seas of mud and climbing over and under barbed-wire fences, Mrs. Morrison traveled with untiring zeal to get signers for that initial petition. She is still working ardently for the cause. To her country's service she has given her only son, her chief mainstay, and, despite her many suffrage activities, she finds time to do war service work. During the present suffrage campaign she has been active in many ways, speaking at fairs and street meetings, and in getting signers to the suffrage petition.

A LITTLE story which has its pathetic side, one to touch all men, anti-suffragists or other, who see in motherhood the great justification for women's existence, comes from the Oklahoma field.

While Mary Park London was enrolling Oklahoma women who want the vote, she came upon a rude little hut on poles in which a new mother lay all alone except for her brand new baby a few hour's old. Out of the depths of the deepest of human experiences, the woman raised herself on her elbow and signed the paper, asking for her rights as a woman, her right to be something more than the suffering physical producer of men; the right to have a guiding voice in the state where men must live. The act of the lonely woman in the sordid little hut ought to ring round the world, and make a part of the plea for democracy going up from the oppressed of the earth, clamoring from the cannon's mouth and shouted from the trenches.

Those men, who lie dying in hospitals, having given their bodies that men and women may live in safety, those men will understand the mother in the Oklahoma cabin.

Winning of the War an Essential Investment

In the Third Liberty Loan Campaign one-half the buyers were women, and 700,000 women were bond sellers.

One million women sellers are hoped for in the Fourth Loan drive.

"The women of America are doing their share in the winning of the war, both by actual hard work and by the tremendous force of their moral influence. It is fitting that their service should be memorialized."

Wm. G. McAdoo,
Secretary of U. S. Treasury.

This is Columbus Day.

President Wilson asks you to celebrate it.

Be a Columbus and make the discovery that women who bear the burdens of the state need the privileges of the state.

They Are All Pu

THE war is up to the women of Wyoming in peculiar ways—ways unknown to women in Eastern cities. In the first place, women are scarce and valuable out there. They have always been few and far between, when one considers the terrifying bigness of things in that country set bias against the Rocky Mountains.

There is, so to speak, only about three-fifths of a woman to meet the same demands in Wyoming that there is a whole woman to meet in the East. Wyoming has the second greatest sex inequality in the United States. To every woman in Wyoming normally there is 1.68 man. So when she takes his place she has to do his job and two-thirds of another man's job besides.

WHERE ONE WOMAN MUST EQUAL ONE AND TWO-THIRDS MEN.

"In county after county," said Dr. Grace Raymond Heberd, of Laramie, recently in an interview at the National American Woman Suffrage Association headquarters, "all the men of the first draft went to camp months ago. One-fifth of all the men of draft age in Wyoming—in the first draft, that is—volunteered for the war. They did not wait to be called."

Dr. Heberd, who is professor of sociology and economics in the University of Wyoming, had come all the way from Laramie to New York to say farewell to Dr. Irene Morse, a former Wyoming University colleague and a present member of the Gas Unit of the Women's Overseas Hospital, U. S. A., and she explained some of the ways in which women of the oldest voting state are meeting their war demands.

"New oil fields recently discovered in Wyoming have had to be worked and women have been in great demand to work them. The industrial market has offered such big wages that the teacher shortage has become acute. Teachers have even gone into the oil fields, where women are getting $80 a month just for wiping machinery — a price which betters the ordinary teacher's salary.

"Domestic servants are, of course, a pre-war memory only. Wealthy mistresses are even sending their maids out to the oil fields and into the railroad shops as a patriotic service. An incident of the industrial overturn is the presence of colored women in railroad shops."

The teacher situation is one which affects Dr. Heberd both as educator and sociologist. She has gone to the president of the University, as a representative suffragist, to urge the necessity of equal pay for women professors. By Christmas of this year Dr. Heberd believes that every superintendent of schools in Wyoming will be a woman. Already one effect of the war situation has been to raise the rural teacher's salary.

WOMEN WORKING IN UNION PACIFIC SHOPS AT CHEYENNE, WYO.

THAT little affair of "charm," par example, which those who are opposed to women's votes live in deadly terror of losing, seems to be a permanent asset, when all's said. It is like "happiness, sincere, fixed to no spot, nowhere to be sought and everywhere." And it certainly is no monopoly of the unfettered women.

A newspaper of the Rocky Mountain regions finds it in overalls, when these are worn by two Wyoming girl railroad track workers, by Miss Pearl Moore and Miss Sylvia Porter, both of whom are "sweet and twenty," and would doubtless have looked well in sackcloth and ashes.

FEMININE "CHARM" IN OVERALLS

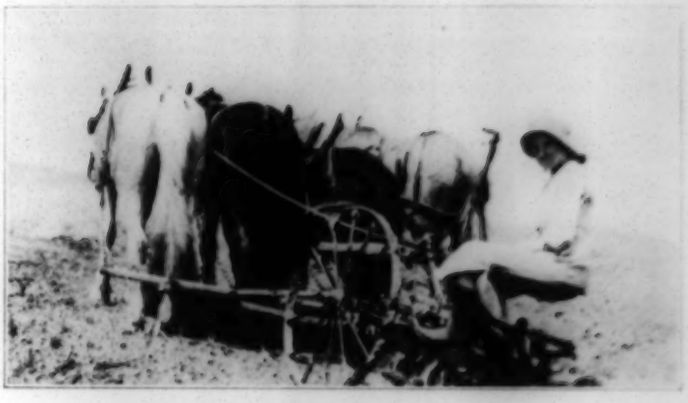
Wyoming women have been demonstrating how to be lovely though voters for the past half century, but it remained for two Cheyenne girls to win the description of presenting "a very pretty appearance in overalls," with the gentle tatting needle exchanged for a pick and shovel.

These are among the girls who have joined the Union Pacific's women railroad force, and they like it. Also, their friends like it. And the newspaper reporter evidently found railroad labor a gentle feminine occupation.

When Miss Moore was interviewed by the press she was deftly throwing a shovelful of dirt off the track with all the grace of a Vere de Vere. She looked like anything but a clinging vine, and she felt decidedly up to her job. "No hot, stuffy factory work for me," she told the reporter. "I prefer this outdoor work in the fresh air."

Both said they could make more money and make it easier than in any other thing they had tried. Miss Moore had previously driven a delivery wagon and done field work. Many of the Cheyenne girls and women have gone into railroad shops and other occupations usually given men, but Miss Moore and Miss Porter were the pioneers in that city as section hands.

ing For Pershing



WYOMING GIRL DRIVING FOUR HORSES

IN the State of Kansas, where women are politically free, and in the State of Georgia, where they are politically bound, women helped harvest bumper crops. In Kansas it was wheat crops; in Georgia cotton.

IT'S WOMEN THIS AND WOMEN THAT, AND WE DON'T NEED YOU HERE.

In both states the women volunteered. There was an element of humor in this story of how the women came to the rescue of Kansas, as the press explained:

"When the matrons and the ladies and the 'flappers' and the little boys and girls offered last January to aid in the harvesting this summer, the Kansas war council declined their proffered help. The thing seemed impossible. The offer had a far different aspect a few weeks ago when the war council faced the situation of a bumper wheat crop and man power entirely inadequate to handle it.

BUT IT'S "THANK YOU, NOBLE LADIES," WHEN THE WHEAT IS IN THE EAR.

"The fate of the crop hung in the balance.

"Then thousands of women—the same women whose January offer of aid had been scorned—with their army of children and girls, sprang up from all over the state and the wheat crop was saved. If this vounteer army had not, unbidden, come to the rescue a great part of this tremendous crop would have been lost."

"WIN the war by picking cotton" is a new cry in Georgia, and of course the women are doing it. The world has never needed cotton more than now, and so it is again an unenfranchised class that is saving it for the sake of humanity, and it is the leaders of women's struggle for enfranchisement who are the leaders of the Woman's Land Army Corps to come to the rescue of the cotton.

NEVER have the cotton pickers of Georgia attracted quite so much attention as the squads of pickers who went out from Augusta, or Richmond County, recently. It was the advance guard of the Woman's Land Army of Georgia. It was in response to the call of Mrs. L. S. Arrington, chairman of the Woman's Committee Council of National Defense, and a former president of the Equal Suffrage Party of Georgia, that the Land Army was organized. The army has grown, both in numbers and enthusiasm, according to reports, and their record for work is such that after reading the results of one day's work, as published in the paper, three farmers immediately asked for twenty pickers, offering to furnish transportation for them.

TO WIN THE WAR, PICK A BAG OF COTTON.

The Richmond County land agent, Mr. Gus York, was glad to avail himself of an offer of women's labor, as nearly all the cotton would probably mature at the same time, he thought, and if delayed would be of inferior grade.

There was some cotton unharvested last year. The labor shortage is now much more acute, and unless a force was promptly put behind this year's crop a great part of it would go to waste. As to the compensation, Mr. York believed a squad of ten girls working six hours a day ought to pick about a bale every day.

The average cotton picker's wage is 75 cents a hundred; therefore, each girl ought to earn a wage of from 75 cents to $1 per day.

One squad of pickers, which included six cars loaded with young women and girls, made a record of 300 pounds of cotton picked in one hour and a half. Twenty-eight pounds was the highest individual record. Another squad of pickers made a record of 120 pounds picked in one hour; the highest single score being twenty pounds.

Mrs. Clara Mathewson is captain of the Woman's Land Army, which has come to stay, according to reports. Prominent farmers in Richmond County have enthusiastically endorsed the movement.

Judge Henry Hammond is one of the enthusiastic endorsers of the Woman's Land Army, urging the women to put themselves in close touch with the big labor movement of the world right in the cotton fields.

COTTON IS FOOD AND RAIMENT AND TRANSPORTATION AND AMMUNITION

"What's the great big thing that's got to be done right now?" asked Judge Hammond. "Pick Cotton! Pick Cotton! Pick Cotton!"

The call comes from thousands of fields and millions of acres, and the calls is this: "Save me for the rich, and the poor, the hungry, the cold and the naked; save me for decency and humanity's sake; save me in Freedom's and Liberty's name."

"Do you know that cotton is one of the great food crops of the world—food for man and beast, hulls and meal, lard and oils—the richest and best fat and nitrogen—the staple that meets a thousand needs of man?"

COTTON FIELD NEAR AUGUSTA, GA. WOMAN'S LAND ARMY

The Federal Route

By Alice Stone Blackwell

"PEACE and arbitration are the outgrowth of justice, and while one-half of the people of the United States are robbed of their inherent right of personal representation—it is idle for us to expect that the men who thus rob women will not rob each other as individuals, corporations and government."

—S. B. Anthony.

THE argument for woman suffrage is the same as the argument for having a republic rather than a monarchy. Except when some good reason can be shown to the contrary, everybody is entitled to be consulted about his own concerns. The laws he must obey and the taxes he must pay (both direct taxes and indirect) are matters which closely concern him; and the only legal way of being consulted in regard to them is through the ballot.

We take a vote in order to find out the wish of the majority. In doing so, certain persons are passed over, whose opinions, for one reason or another, are thought not to be worth counting. In most States these persons are children, aliens, idiots, lunatics, criminals and women. There are good and plain reasons for making all these exceptions but the last.

The civilized world is fast coming around to the belief that there is no good reason in the case of women.

NINETY years ago women could not vote anywhere, except to a very limited extent at municipal elections in a few places in Europe.

In the forty years, from 1830 to 1870, women were given full suffrage in Wyoming; municipal suffrage in England, Finland, Victoria and New South Wales, and school suffrage in Kentucky, Kansas and Ontario.

In the twenty years, from 1870 to 1890, women were given municipal suffrage in Kansas, Scotland, New Zealand, South and West Australia, Tasmania, Iceland, Ontario, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec, British Columbia and the Northwest Territory; school suffrage in Michigan, Minnesota, Colorado, New Hampshire, Oregon, Massachusetts, New York, Vermont, Nebraska, North and South Dakota, Montana, Arizona, Oklahoma and New Jersey, and full suffrage in the Isle of Man.

In the twenty years, from 1890 to 1910, women were given full suffrage in Colorado, Idaho, Utah, Norway, Finland, New Zealand, South and West Australia, Tasmania, Queensland, Victoria and New South Wales; municipal suffrage in Ireland, Denmark and the province of Vorarlberg (Austrian Tyrol), and school suffrage in Illinois, Connecticut, Ohio, Delaware and Wisconsin. In Louisiana, Michigan, and all the towns and villages of New York State tax-paying women were given a vote on questions of local taxation. In Iowa and Kansas women were given a vote on bonding propositions; in Minnesota a vote for library trustees, and in Belgium a vote for the *Conseils des Prudhommes*. In France women engaged in trade were given a vote for judges of the tribunals of commerce.

In the nine years, from 1910 to 1918, women have been given the school vote in New Mexico; municipal suffrage in Vermont, South Africa, Laibach (Austria), Barada (India) and Belize (Honduras); municipal and presidential suffrage in Illinois, North Dakota and Nebraska, presidential suffrage in Rhode Island and Michigan; practically full suffrage in Texas and Arkansas, and full suffrage in New York, California, Washington, Kansas, Oregon, Arizona, Montana, Nevada, England, Canada, Russia, Alaska, Iceland and Denmark. The kingdom of Würtemburg has given women engaged in agriculture a vote for members of the Chamber of Agriculture, and a number of cities in Florida, Tennessee and elsewhere have given them local rights of franchise.

The movement towards woman suffrage is world-wide, and the trend is all one way. Even opponents admit that it is coming.

THE great majority of the people who have practical experience of woman suffrage are agreed that it is a good thing. The *Literary Digest* took a census of editors in the suffrage states, and found a sweeping majority favorable. Julia Ward Howe, in 1910, sent a letter of inquiry to all the editors in the oldest four suffrage states, and to all the ministers of five leading denominations, and published the outcome in the *Woman's Journal*. She got 624 answers, of which only sixty-two were unfavorable. The New York *Survey*, one of the country's leading philanthropic journals, sent a circular letter of inquiry to all its subscribers in the suffrage states, and published the results in its issue of October 23, 1915. It received 634 replies, of which only fifteen were unfavorable. Many persons answered that they had been opposed until they saw the practical results.

Among those who assure us that woman suffrage has proved satisfactory are almost all the men and women distinguished for their intelligence and high standing in the suffrage states, from the college presidents down—persons whose word on any other question of fact relating to their own states would be taken without hesitation.

Still more conclusive is the broad fact that equal suffrage has spread steadily from one adjoining state to another till it covers the whole western half of our country; and that there is nowhere any serious attempt to repeal it. If the majority of the people anywhere disliked it, they could and would revoke it. If it had worked out disastrously in any state, the people just across the border would have known better than to adopt it.

IF equal suffrage ought to come, and is bound to come, it ought to be conferred in the shortest and easiest way that is legal. No man of sense goes a mile around when he can get to his object by walking a yard. No patriot should go a mile around to get a good thing for his country when he can get it by a shorter route.

It Is Objected

1. *That to amend the constitution in this way would show disrespect to the fathers.*

But the fathers provided precisely this way for amending it.

2. *That it would be a violation of states' rights.*

The national constitution specifically gives the Legislatures of three-fourths of the states the right to determine questions for the whole country. It is no more unethical for three-fourths of the states to carry a measure without the approval of one-fourth than for three-fourths of the counties in a state to carry an amendment to the state constitution without the approval of one-fourth.

3. *That it would increase the difficulties of the Southern states with their illiterate vote.*

When the amendment for nation-wide woman suffrage goes into effect, the women in each Southern state will obtain it subject to exactly the same restrictions that now apply to men in that state. Every state will also retain exactly the same power that it now has to impose additional qualifications of education, property, character, etc., provided that these are required of men and women alike.

4. *That the question ought to be decided not by Congress and the state Legislatures, but by popular vote.*

For the last fifty years, in every state where the suffragists have asked the Legislature to submit an amendment for woman suffrage to the voters, the anti-suffragists have strenuously opposed its submission, and have urged the Legislature to decide the question adversely on its own responsibility. They never took the ground that the Legislature had no moral right to decide it until Legislatures began to decide it favorably.

James McCreery & Co.

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White Blankets with pink or blue borders:
Single size.....pr. **4.50, 6.75, 8.75, 10.00**
regularly 6.00, 8.50, 11.00, 13.50
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Gray Blankets with pink or blue borders:
Single size.....pr. **4.50** and **6.50**
regularly 6.00 and 8.50
Double size.....pr. **5.00** and **7.50**
regularly 7.00 and 9.75
Figured Silkoline Comfortables, cotton filled.
regularly 4.65 **3.75**

Figured Silkoline Comfortables with plain inserted satin borders, cotton filled.
regularly 6.00 **4.75**
Comfortables with Novelty Silk Mull tops with plain borders, cotton filled.
regularly 7.00 **5.75**
Figured Nainsook Comfortables with plain sateen borders, wool filled.
regularly 11.00 **8.50**
Crochet Spreads, hemmed.....**1.75** and **2.25**
regularly 2.50 and 3.25
Satin finish Spreads, hemmed.....**3.75** and **4.75**
regularly 4.75 and 6.00

NATIONAL action is sought by the suffragists for the same reason that it is sought by the prohibitionists, the opponents of child labor, and the advocates of other reforms—because it is the shortest and easiest way. It is in the interests of conservation. To carry equal suffrage at the polls, as for instance in New York state, costs thousands of women a vast expenditure of time, labor and energy, which can be applied with advantage to other purposes.

Reformers of every stripe are learning how wasteful and slow is the old piecemeal method of attacking nation-wide evils and injustices by state action only, and are nationalizing their campaigns. The war is accentuating this tendency. It has already taught us that many things which used to be looked upon as matters wholly of state concern can be accomplished more economically and efficiently by national action.

Some state constitutions, like that of Indiana, are impossible of amendment, and never have been amended, on any subject. Many are unduly difficult of amendment as in Minnesota, where over and over again constitutional amendments have received an overwhelming majority of the popular vote cast upon the question, yet have been lost because every voter who neglects to mark his ballot either way is counted as voting no. In New Mexico, a constitutional amendment must receive a large majority vote not only in the whole state but in every separate county. Other state constitutions contain other barriers that enable a minority of opponents to hold up a desirable reform for many years. In addition, many states lack adequate laws to prevent fraud in counting the vote on constitutional amendments; and the suffragists have reason to believe that in several states where they had a majority they were counted out.

IN England and every foreign country, each successive extension of the suffrage, whether for men or for women, has been by a single act of Parliament. If it was not unethical there, why should it be unethical here? Or why should American women be condemned to 48 separate state campaigns, a method so much more burdensome than has been imposed upon the women of any other land?

5. *That the question ought to be decided by a vote of women.*

There is no state where it can be so decided constitutionally. That is why the opponents urge this proposal.

Over and over again the suffragists have asked that women should be enabled to vote with authority upon the question of their own enfranchisement (as at the recent hearing before the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention). The antis invariably object.

6. *That in the ratification of the Federal Amendment, Pennsylvania with its big population would count for no more than Nevada.*

It is equally true that the suffrage state of New York with its big population would count for no more than New Mexico. This objection would apply equally to any and every amendment to the Federal constitution.

7. *That this change should not be made in war time.*

More women have been enfranchised since the war began than for 50 years before. England and Canada have granted women the ballot in war time, and feel themselves the stronger for this act of justice.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN said he believed in woman suffrage because he was for all sharing the privileges of the government who assist in bearing its burdens. In every warring country, women by millions are bearing increased burdens, both at home and in industry, and bearing them patriotically and bravely.

In war time, all a country's domestic enemies become doubly active—vice and crime, infant mortality, poverty, corrupt politics and profiteering. To cope with them, women, more

(Continued on page 398)

These Hotels pay special attention to Women Travelers

HOTEL McALPIN
Broadway at 34th Street, New York
An Entire Floor Reserved Exclusively for Women
Hostess and Chaperon in Charge
Shopping Guides Available

A Financial Center

DOES your bank balance come out all right? This is a very intimate question. If it doesn't you are only one of thousands of women who have now to carry financial responsibilities which they never carried before.

Mortgages must be renewed, money borrowed, bank notes met and reinvestments made. Women are also being called into new financial posts to take the places of men.

A clever woman, Miss Elizabeth Rachel Wylie, foresaw many months ago, that there would be a clamorous demand for the financial instruction of women on a large scale. She instituted a clearing house for all these new needs.

Among the things Miss Wylie's Financial Center aspires to do is to meet every business need of the woman in war time. It aims to teach women how to maange their own affairs. It also aims to make every woman, whether employed or otherwise, more intelligent about the principles and methods of business.

Uniforms for Women

Ready to Wear
White from $4.50
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Also Made to Order
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425 FIFTH AVENUE
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How Every Woman May Help in the Liberty Loan

(Written exclusively for The Woman Citizen.)

By John Price Jones,
Assistant Director of Publicity

IN responding to the plea that everybody take a hand in making the Fourth Liberty Loan a great success, the most frequent excuses are given by women. This does not mean that women do not do their share to put the loan across, but it does mean that most women, and men for that matter, do not realize just how small a modicum of service is required to bring results in this, the biggest voluntary effort that the nation has been asked to make to win the war.

The ways in which women can help are many, and small, yet also very productive of real results for the smallest expenditure of effort. Here are some of them:

If you deal regularly with any butcher, baker or grocer, notice whether or not, when the loan begins, he shows posters of the loan. If he does, compliment him on it and ask him how many bonds he expects to buy. If he shows nothing in the way of announcements of the loan, ask him the reason, and tell him that it is a sign of patriotism to use his show window to advertise the loan, then tell him that he may procure posters from the Liberty Loan Committee. You probably do not know the great good that could be accomplished if every window of every store in the city told of the loan. Often a suggestion to your tradesman will bring him into line.

Have you an automobile? Then make sure that it carries any Fourth Liberty Loan literature that is designated for automobiles. Imagine the great wave of announcements of the loan that would go out if every car in your city or neighborhood bore the placard telling of it.

In your apartment house, if you live in one, and, anyway, in your neighborhood, you know of some woman who is not doing what she should to win the war. You have seen her overflowing garbage can, perhaps, or heard indignant comment about her from your neighbors, or, perhaps, in grocery store gossip. Has it occurred to you that her sin may be due to ignorance? There are many women who are not doing their share in the war because they do not know what their share is. A great many do not read the newspapers, and their husbands are too tired to talk war news over with them in the evening when they return home.

Why not do some missionary work? Drop in some day and bring up the subject of Liberty Loans, and show how a little economy at home puts the bonds within reach of every family, no matter how small the income. Your little investment of time and trouble may bring real results.

The same sort of missionary work among your friends and relatives may bring good returns, and, at any rate, it is worth trying. The Fourth Liberty Loan is the biggest that any government ever tried to float, and it will not be a success unless everyone gets behind it. Buy a bond or more yourself, and then try your best to get as many other people to buy as many as possible. Use every method to keep your conscience clear of the recurring charge when the loan is over that you might have done more to help the Government win the war.

We all have a part to play, and the one who falls down on the job and leaves undone the things he ought to have done in the Fourth Liberty Loan stands convicted of only partial loyalty to the United States in the present crisis.

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JOHN P. TOLSON.

The Federal Route

(Continued from page 397)

than ever need to be equipped with the best modern weapon, the ballot.

After the war, we shall face the task of rebuilding a shattered world. The sex that from time immemorial has done the bulk of the mothering and nursing should be freed of restrictions to enable it to give its best service.

Last but not least, our country by this action will add to its prestige as a champion of democracy. When England granted woman suffrage, the Kaiser would not let the fact be mentioned in the German press.

8. *That most women are for "peace at any price."*

This is a libel on American womanhood. If anyone doubts it, let him ask the first twenty women he meets whether they favor peace on Germany's terms, and see what they say.

Correspondence

To the Editor of the Woman Citizen:

THE enclosed is a copy of my letter to Senator David Baird who is filling out Hughes's unexpired term in the U. S. Senate. He was born in 1839, and that may explain some of my allusions to age.

Dear Sir:

AT the risk of a serious tax upon your courtesy and patience, I am writing you because I believe that there is one side of the Woman Suffrage question which, perhaps unconsciously you have not faced fairly, even to yourself. I speak of the origin and status of your point of view.

As a man of mature years, you have seen men and manners change and one who would keep alive the spirit of youth must change with them. During your long life there has been an absolute revolution in our knowledge of forces, business, economical and social relations. The present condition of world affairs would have dazed the most strenuous liberal of your youth.

The reason that I question your point of view on this matter of suffrage is that while the whole world has shifted its relation to it, you have retained the old-fashioned, worn-out attitude held by the general public of fifty years ago when the subject seemed scandalous to the mass of both sexes. Now the force behind it has grown to such proportions that millions of men and women of all ranks in the civilized world have asserted their belief in its honorable justice. While millions have been converted to suffrage one can count on one's fingers and toes those who have turned from suffrage to anti-suffrage.

The foremost opponents, Mr. Asquith and Lloyd George, are now enthusiastic supporters. Its greatest enemy is the autocratic foe of democracy for both sexes, the German War lord, who claims to rule by divine right without the consent of the governed.

As you know, we are fighting to-day for a repudiation of the politics of compulsion, and binding ourselves in honor as a nation, before the tribunal of the whole world, to cultivate the policy of consent. The power and influence of woman depend upon persuasion and consent, rather than compulsion, and in order that American diplomacy may be sharply distinguished from Prussianism, woman must be included in the body politic. To quote from the *New Republic*. "The kind of moral unity which contributes to military victory during war is gravely injured by postponing until the end of hostilities the satisfaction of grievances whose existence has impaired national unity during peace. The government which connives at evasion suffers a loss in national moral vitality. The refusal to grant political equality to women would justify English, French, Russian and German radicals in doubting the sincerity of a nation which raised such a hullabaloo about its democracy, but which persisted in condemning half of its population as political inferiors and outcasts."

Therefore the President did not exaggerate the importance of the matter to you. He has said, "much of the morale of this country and of the world will repose in our strict adherence to democratic principles, and woman suffrage is at this time an essential psychological element in the war for democracy."

Life is a constant adjustment. The keynote of the new philosophy is elasticity. There is no growth unless one allows the current of the world forces to flow freely through one's body, mind and soul. Stoppage spells stagnation.

If you know anything of world movements you will recognize the woman question as no local, provincial matter, confined to a body of undeveloped humans, but an uprising of the beings whom men have cherished, loved and extolled beyond compare. That some of these have no vision of the eternal justice of the cause does not validate against it. We are enjoying to-day the benefits once fought for by small groups who stood on the mountain tops. When millions of women in New York, the great Western states, Great Britain and her colonies have attained the franchise it is puerile to quote New Jersey's referendum against it.

I ask from you an honest scrutiny of your opinion on this most serious question.

I am yours respectfully,

Kate Louise Roberts.

475 Mt. Prospect avenue, Newark, N. J.

Jeannette Rankin

has been nominated for U. S. Senator from Montana by the National Party, after failing of the Republican primaries by a close margin of 1791 votes. Her candidacy has been endorsed by the farmers' organization of Montana, 40,000 strong, and has also strong support from the labor men. It is a three-cornered fight, hence fewer votes are needed to win. The first plank of the platform upon which she is running calls for the winning of the war. There are other planks that should commend themselves strongly to women.

Much money will be spent to defeat her. Contributions for her campaign may be sent to the treasurer of the National Party,

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138 No. La Salle Street Chicago, Illinois

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Senator Phelan's Philippic

NOW and then during the long-drawn Senate discussion of suffrage, some man got to his feet, and gathering up the anti-suffrage arguments, the anti-suffrage psychology, the anti-suffrage prejudices and traditions, made shreds and tatters of them with the keen cutting blade of his logic and his wit. One such man was Senator Phelan, of California.

He it was who applied the felicitous phrase "unholy alliance" to the combination between Republican Senators from New England and Democratic Senators from the solid South. And only those who watched Senator Lodge, of Massachusetts, fraternizing with Senators Martin, of Virginia, and Smith, of South Carolina, know how well that phrase fitted!

"I have in my hand, sir," said the gentleman from California, "the resolutions adopted at a meeting in Worcester, Mass., on the 15th day of October, 1851, 67 years ago. In reading the speeches of Wendell Phillips I came across his address on that occasion, and I think that everything which can be said in favor of granting suffrage to women is embraced within the pages of this volume as expressed in his speech. It is so absolutely logical that no one can avoid it. It is quite immaterial, as the President said to-day, what may be 'the predilections of the drawing-room.' The women of the drawing-room have bread-winners to provide for them. We are talking of the women who for one reason or another do not acknowledge dependency upon man in intellectual, educational, and spiritual matters, but assert an individuality of their own. But the women of the drawing-room, after years of long subjection, come to regard themselves as more or less dependent because the necessity of their condition does not require of them either the acquisition of knowledge upon public questions or the exercise of public duties. Their male representative does that for them and they doubtless are quite content. But we are engaged in the business of emancipating women, even those who are so complacent.

"I am going to read those resolutions into my address for the purpose of reaching the ears of the New England Senators particularly, because the opposition to this amendment comes from the New England Senators and from the Southern Senators, certainly an unholy alliance. The very name of Wendell Phillips ought to arouse the New England conscience to believe that there is something in this contest higher than mere material gain, that there is something, as the President describes, of a spiritual nature, something involving the impalpable rights of persons. For those rights the men of New England gave Wendell Phillips as a missionary to the country and as a result of the gospel which he preached, the black race was freed. The black race is the greatest obstacle to-day in this body to woman suffrage, but standing alone the opposition that arises from that source would not be sufficient unless it was reinforced from New England."

IT was Senator Phelan, too, who made clear the fact that the President was well within his prerogatives when he came to the Senate on his mission for the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

"When the President of the United States sees fit to come to the Senate of the United States during the course of the debate and answer a question which was propounded by one of our colleagues, I should think his course would meet with an eager response.

"The Constitution, Article II, Section 3, says of the President:

"He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper."

"So the President is well within his prerogatives when he comes here in person—a compliment which, indeed, we should appreciate—and answers a question thus propounded.

"What was that question? The Senator from South Carolina [Mr Benet], who was for some time regarded to be in doubt as to what position he should take upon this subject, said in his address that in case he was convinced that the proposed constitutional amendment was a war measure, notwithstanding the objections which he otherwise had, he would vote for it. Now the President has come before us and stated that it is a war measure."

Perhaps nowhere in his speech was Senator Phelan more illumining than in his exposition of the President's underlying ethics in urging woman suffrage as a war measure. He said in part:

"To-day the President came here to tell us that this is a war measure. We are engaged in this war, in the business of proving that might is no longer right; that the biological theory of the German philosophers subordinating the weak to the strong and knowing no other right or power than brute strength is the very proposition which we are contesting on the battle fields of Europe. . . .

"Certainly, Mr. President, this is a war measure, because when you ask why we are in this war we are told that it is not a contest between nations, but it is a contest for the supremacy of the right; it is a contest against the claims made by an autocracy that force is the only arbiter between men and between nations. If we deny suffrage to women it is because we are superior in strength to women and deny their intellectual and moral fitness and right to that copartnership which should obtain between men and women in the conduct of the country's affairs.

"So the very issue involved in this war is involved in the conflict between the forces opposed to suffrage and in favor of suffrage. We are asserting that men have a superior right because they have greater strength than woman, a condition that prevails in primitive society. That is all there is to it. We are denying civilization. We are denying to women an equality just as the Hun denies to the Belgians and the Serbs the right to independent existence. So we deny the women the right of an independent existence with respect to their political rights. In the language of autocracy we are saying, 'We can do better for you, so remain comfortably subservient.'

(Continued on page 402)

Women Are Called

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As Senator Reed Sees Women

ONE of the interesting spectacles on the floor of the Senate on Monday, September 30, the day the President addressed the Senate, was the attachment of Senators Reed and Hardwick to their chairs while every one else in the chamber rose out of respect to the President. Senator Reed's attitude, in particular, attracted the attention of a number of the suffragists in the Northeast Gallery, and newspaper correspondents testify that when the President left the chamber, "everybody rose but Reed and Hardwick." According to the correspondent of the St. Louis *Republic*, "It is hardly possible that Senator Reed was so engrossed that he did not notice the President's departure. He had been listening intently to the speech." Newspaper correspondents sit in the Press Gallery directly facing Senator Reed's seat on the Senate floor. The *Republic* has published the following statement from Senator Reed in lieu of a denial:

"I am not disposed to get into a controversy of that kind with such people. I have never treated the President with disrespect in my life, and everybody knows that. That is all I have got to say."

In view of its careful evasion of a categorical answer to the charge, it is more than enough.

And if you want evidence of Senator Reed's valuation of women who dare go to the Capitol to urge consideration of their claims to political liberty, read these paragraphs from his speech of September 27:

"IS it not a strange charge to hear upon the floor of the United States Senate that faith has been broken because a pledge of a certain number of votes, made to a female lobbyist, was not carried out? What right has anybody to make pledges to female lobbyists or male lobbyists or any lobbyist, whether in petticoats or pantaloons? All are alike obnoxious. Is it not a fine state of affairs that the generalissimo of a lobby can from her headquarters summon Republican suffrage Senators as a military chief might summon so many orderly sergeants to demand reports?

"And if one of these poor sergeants, or, peradventure, lieutenants, shall make a miscount of a single vote shall he be charged with base perfidy? Shall he be held to have betrayed the State because he did not state the exact facts to the female general? At the same time, are Democratic suffrage leaders to be likewise summoned forth and asked for their reports? And after the lobby chief has taken an account from all parts of the field, has surveyed the scene of action, has examined the war map, inspected the gallery to discover whether her heavy artillery is planted in the north gallery, her seventy-sevens stationed in the south gallery, her machine guns located in the east gallery, and the lady patriot who burns up presidential speeches is properly ensconced in the diplomatic gallery, is the lobby chief to give the orders to the Senate of the United States, 'You may now proceed to the consideration of the bill; I command it'? Is it not a contemptible position in which we find ourselves?

". . . But now we find a petticoat brigade awaits outside, and Senate leaders, like little boys, like pages, trek back and forth for orders. If you accept that office, Senators, then put on cap and bells and paint your cheeks like clowns, as did the court fools of the middle centuries, and do your truckling in a proper garb."

Well, it was certainly a contemptible position in which Senator Reed found himself by the time Senator Lewis, of Illinois, finished with him.

Mr. Lewis. "I desire to give a moment's consideration to the impeachment by the distinguished Senator from Missouri which has come flashing from his genius in his usual characteristic way, inflamed with accusation, accompanied with denunciations, enshrouded in all those things which slay and destroy the dragon that I fear his imagination created to terrorize the thing that he fancied was around him.

"My eminent friend from Missouri, I fear, exaggerates the thing he calls lobby and finds it agreeable to pass a condemnation without qualification, stricture without mercy, upon a situation that has no existence but which must go down as long as anyone remembers these little ephemeral events as a condemnation from a Senator of this body upon a class of people whose only offence confessedly is an endeavor to protect themselves.

"I have heard my distinguished friend, for whom I have an entertaining affection, sir, characterize these women managers as though they were enemies of the Government which had filled the lobbies of the Senate, as though these leaders were criminals of the country hiding in the purlieus of the Capitol; indeed, as though they were vicious agents seeking to poison the avenues of legislation. I fear the Senator has conceived them in the image of some inhuman monster that was seeking to disgrace the Republic.

"What is this particular thing to which the eminent Senator from Missouri has addressed his anathemas? It appears from a statement as I heard it—I have no knowledge of the facts—that a Senator from Utah, representing one state of thought upon this amendment, and a Senator from Nevada, representing another, seem to have been approached by representatives of women respecting the number of voters in the Senate which could be depended upon in the support of a measure or those which opposed it.

"I am not able to see the offence which my eminent friend from Missouri conjures up in the mere fact that these women, whether they are for this amendment or against the amendmend, have taken the precaution to ascertain the status of the thing in which each of them feels their liberties or rights depend.

"Will it be urged by my eminent friend that there is an offence on the part of women who call out their public representatives, their public servants, their constitutional aids of Government to ascertain from them where they stand in respect to their personal rights? Shall it be said they become criminals because they have assumed to say to their public servants the thing which they feel is their right and solicit of them the support of the thing which they feel is their justice?

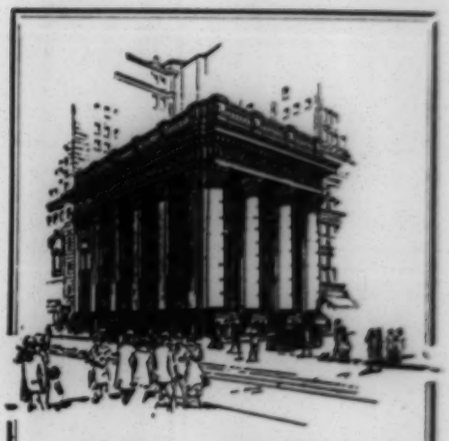
"Has it come that a distinguished Senator can on the floor indict these women for coming about and seeking to protect their rights, when every railroad lobbyist in America in the past could with freedom haunt this Capitol when a bill is before the body looking to the guardianship of the Republic, who would intercept the course of government for the uses of their private fortunes, when there was not a word to condemn them or their emissaries, however guilty has been their object and criminal has been their design through the long years of senatorial legislation?

"Can it be possible, Mr. President, that certain heads of the great telegraph companies and the telephone companies can be found in every corner of the Capitol at a time when we seek to convert these agencies to the welfare of the Republic, assuming to obstruct it by every mode they could command, and to this there could come no voice that condemns? Can it be said if these are honestly protecting their rights that they are all of a virtue and the women who merely seek to obtain a thing they feel is their liberty are all of a vice? I cannot behold it so.

"Mr. President, the word 'lobby' became a reprehensible term. Rightfully applied it remains so when we have seen a class of men come about this Capitol for years and hold Senators to account and threaten them with dire results at home, or take other measures that might induce the weak, and dare assume those agencies which seduce the corrupt—under such circumstances the word 'lobby' has a place, a meaning, and an application, fitting and reprehensible.

"But can it be said earnestly by a Senator when there is a measure here that relates to a class of people such as these women, when they are the direct objects of the proposed law, when they are to be the direct victims of the defeat of the measure, when, from their viewpoint, their fate and fortune swing in the balance, that they are not to be heard; and if they dare ex-

(*Continued on page 402*)



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As Senator Reed Sees Women

(*Continued from page* 401)

press their views here to Senators in the shadow of the Capitol, they are to be branded within that range of criminals of Government whom heretofore we have known as corrupt and guilty lobbyists? I protest against such and call the able Senator to reflection that he may do justice later to whom he has done injustice in the haste of speech."

Senator Reed, who had shown marked restlessness at Senator Lewis's reference to the railroad lobbyist, managed to get the floor at this juncture and, under the caustic goad of Lewis's tongue, presented the interesting spectacle of a United States Senator trying to wipe away the stain of the mud he had been overquick to throw.

Mr. Reed. "The Senator has said that I have made charges against these ladies; that I reflected upon these ladies. The charge that I made was that the Senate, by submitting to their dictation, had reflected upon itself. I cast no reflection whatsoever upon the ladies, and the record of what I have said will clearly demonstrate that."

And then Mr. Lewis in this wise:

"If the observations of the Senator from Missouri had not the purpose of making accusation against the women as lobbyists, then I misunderstood his purpose; and, of course, my criticism in that respect could not apply to a thing which he says he did not intend to say. If said as I understood it—whether through lack of intention or deliberation—I had understood the Senator, and I fancy those all around me must have understood, that his object was a malediction against women for their participation as lobbyists. I gathered that all the more from my eminent friend as he allowed himself in an unreflecting moment to characterize them as 'a petticoat brigade,' and to draw the figure of military and martial movement by referring to a feminine general, who gave her orders to her colonel or her captain, who then brought them in as a messenger to the Senator, and he besought the Senators hereafter that if they should repeat this disgusting performance they should wear the cap and bells of the clown, or like a painted harlequin tremblingly crouch at the feet of their master."

In order that Mr. Reed may stand before our readers in his full self defence, it is only fair to insert here the fact that he made occasion to say a little later that, "when the Senator from Illinois undertook to say that there had been a corrupt lobby of the railroads in this Capitol, and that I had uttered no protest against it, he came very near charging me with being a servant of that lobby."

Phelan's Philippic

(*Continued from page* 400)

"How can we justify ourselves? As the President says, he wants to be put in a position where he need not be ashamed when he goes before the nations of the world speaking for this democracy. It is clearly our duty to perfect our democracy at home before we preach democracy abroad. Therein also is it a war measure. The hour has arrived when this can be accomplished in this body by the change of a few votes. Why should not those votes be given? Have Senators a pride of opinion which would put them in opposition to the spirit of the age? Do Senators who inquire whether it is a war measure or not deny the authority of the man who came here to-day to speak, the first authority in the world on that subject, the leader of the American people, the Commander-in-Chief of the boys in the field and the sailors on the sea? After due deliberation, meeting that inquiry, he has said it is a war measure. He wants that weapon with which to win the war. What weapon? Not a new voting constituency in the United States to-day or tomorrow, because if we submit the amendment to-day it will take several years in order to get the ratification of the States, but he wants a clear conscience; he wants to set the country right, if possible, by persuasion of the minds of men; for unless we accept this policy of giving the women the vote, of democratizing the country in a true and real sense, he will just to that extent be weak in presenting the cause of justice and equality, of independence, and of right to the nations of the world.

"He wants the weapon of equal rights to smite the fiends of kingcraft.

"He wants, he says, 'a spiritual weapon.' What is a spiritual weapon? It is built of the thoughts and ideals of a nation. It is built of the hopes and aspirations of one-half of our population. It is built of democracy unalloyed and undefiled and a democracy which embraces not some of the people but all of the people. He asks that the spiritual weapon by the vote of this body be put into his hands. When we go back to our constituencies, with that speech of the President ringing in their ears, because he is their leader, coming to Congress and asking for a weapon, will we say that we denied it? We have given him shot and shells and cannon and we have given the material things with which to fight, but the battle of our inspired leader is to be fought by weapons other than these—by the great idea of liberty and justice for the world. That is the idea which wins the battles, which gave us our own independence—the idea of man being free. I say to-day the idea of men and women being free is something that carries with it an impelling force to those who believe in a full and absolute acceptance of democracy."

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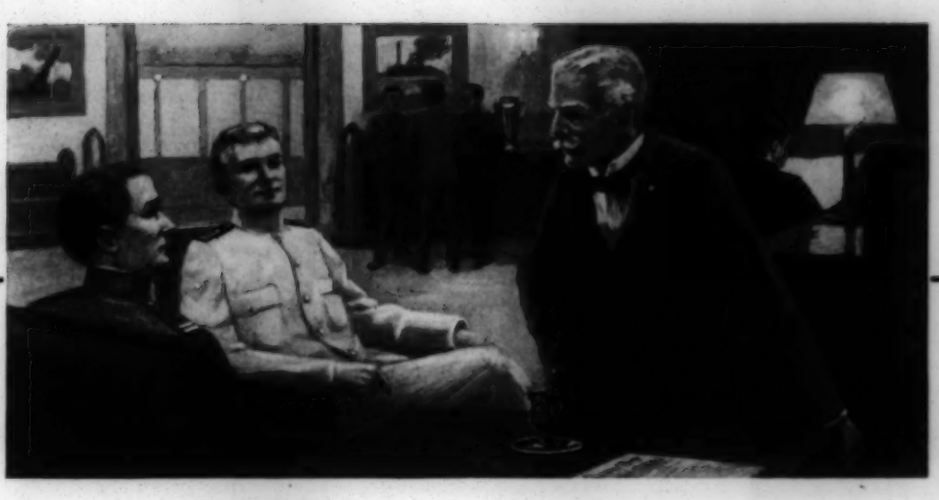

The Last Word About the War

And How Colonel Sibley Was Helped to Write It

SCENE: (Army and Navy Club, New York, where Commander Ellsworth, U. S. N., and Captain Trowbridge, U. S. A., are having a conference and an after-dinner cigar in the Club Library and are joined by Colonel Sibley, U. S. A., retired)

The Colonel: Well, comrades, I win!

The Commander: Been fighting again, Colonel? Who says you're retired?

Colonel: I was retired, but now I'm in action again or soon will be, and this time with the pen instead of the sword.

Captain: How's that?

Colonel (Drawing closer to the table and glancing around): Well, comrades, I don't mind telling you in confidence that I just signed up with the Editor-in-Chief of a big magazine (name censored for the present) to write a series of articles on the Great War.

Commander: Tell us about it.

Colonel: Well, it's going to be a long campaign. The Editor, whom I have just left, wants an extended series of articles, to begin with an exhaustive survey of the *causes* which led up to the War.

Captain: The causes? All of them? Well, you've sure got your work laid out for you.

Commander: I should say you had.

Colonel: The Editor feels that way himself. He's now concerned chiefly about what has happened up-to-date and the authority upon which my statements will be based. The Editor's a big gun in the business, you know, and his rivals will be getting his range if he exposes himself. He wants to secure a strategic position so that he can't be successfully attacked on anything he prints.

Captain: Well, what did *you* suggest?

Colonel: I'll tell you. While he was talking I was thinking and I finally told him that what he wanted as a reserve-force was some late general reference work of recognized reliability that he could fall back on. "That's it," he said, and then asked: "Which one?"

Commander (Turning his head and glancing at a set of The New International Encyclopaedia in its special case): I'll bet I can tell which one you named.

Captain (Glancing at the set): *Ours*, of course.

Colonel: You're both good guessers. Of course I named The New International and the Editor nodded his head and said: "That's the very work I had in mind, not only as an authority on the causes of the War and what has already happened, but when peace comes I hear the publishers are to bring the war-volume down to date at once and are to send it to all subscribers in exchange for the war-volume now in their possession so they'll know the last word about the conflict."

Commander: Well, that settled it, I suppose.

Colonel: Yes, I told the Editor that the selection of The New International as our authority simplified the problem and he added that it not only simplified the articles, but solidified them and made them so authoritative that he would be able to follow out with safety his plan to publish the series of articles in book form.

The inference from the foregoing is plain. If THE NEW INTERNATIONAL is selected by an army officer and by a prominent editor as an authority on the Great War (and many editors and officers own it) the value of the work to the public for general reference goes without saying.

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